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Robert A. Danielson Women Church Planters in the Early Work of The Church of God in Christ: The Case of the Singing Twins, Reatha and Leatha Morris

Abstract:

While church planting is often seen as a recent topic, it has been in existence as long as the church itself. One interesting historical example of church planting is revealed in the methods practiced by the women of the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), the largest African-American Pentecostal denomination in the United States. In the early days of the denomination, Mother Lizzie Robinson was put in charge of the ministry done by women. While she did not approve of women preaching and leading churches, she did approve and commission women evangelists who would "dig out" churches and then turn them over to male leaders from the denominational headquarters. Reatha and Leatha Morris, twins from Oklahoma, are presented here as a historical case study of how this method worked. The church planting methodology is also examined in light of current church planting theory. As apostolic harvest church planters, Mothers Reatha Morris Herndon and Leatha Morris Chapman Tucker illustrate the power of church planters being freed from the work of pastoring and discipling (even if this was not their choice). Together they are credited with planting some 75 churches in many of the major metropolitan areas of the United States. The women church planters of COGIC are arguably the single most important reason for the size and success of this denomination today.

Keywords: Church of God in Christ (COGIC), church planting, women, Reatha Morris Herndon, Leatha Morris Chapman Tucker

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Introduction

In the history of Pentecostalism in the United States, few churches compare with the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), the largest Pentecostal denomination and fourth largest denomination in the United States.¹ Primarily African-American, COGIC has a fascinating history rooted in its origins in the Holiness Movement as well as Pentecostalism. Part of this story is the amazing accounts of how churches were planted by women in a denomination that did not allow for the ordination of women. In order to highlight this work, this article will focus on the unique ministry of twins, Reatha and Leatha Morris and their role in building COGIC as they became mothers of the church. It will also consider the methodological implications and lessons we can learn for modern church planting.

COGIC and the Role of Women

The Church of God in Christ (COGIC) traces its founding back to two men, Charles Harrison Mason (1864-1961) and Charles Price Jones (1865-1947). Both men were from Baptist backgrounds who went to Arkansas Baptist College. Both men experienced sanctification, Mason after reading the autobiography of Amanda Smith, an African-American evangelist from the Wesleyan Holiness tradition, and Jones after a personal experience while in prayer. In the late 1890's Mason and Jones were the major preachers of holiness in black Baptist churches in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Mason and Jones were expelled from the National Baptist Convention in 1899 for their support of Wesleyan perfectionism. The churches that followed Mason and Jones took on the name of the Church of God in Christ.

In 1906 Mason and Jones heard reports from a friend of theirs, William J. Seymour about the out-breaking of revival in Los Angeles at Azusa Street. Mason went to investigate, and on March 19, 1907 experienced Pentecostal spirit baptism. Jones, however, did not accept that speaking in tongues was the only initial evidence of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. This led to a convocation in August of 1907 where the church split almost in half after three days and nights of debate. Mason would lead the Church of God in Christ, while Jones would lead the Church of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A.²

Born into slavery on April 5, 1860, Elizabeth (Lizzie) Isabelle Smith grew up with her mother and siblings working. By 1892, she was a mother on her second marriage in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Sometime in the next ten years, she became involved with the work of Joanna Patterson Moore, a

white American Baptist missionary who devoted her life to working with African-Americans in the South. Despite being a Baptist, Moore had also experienced sanctification at a Methodist camp-meeting, and she wrote about it in her materials, such as Hope magazine, which was aimed to promote Bible study to African-American women, while also teaching literacy and home schooling. As African-American women began to read this material, they formed Bible Bands to study the Bible together. By 1906 Lizzie was active selling subscriptions to Hope magazine, distributing Bibles, and organizing Bible Bands. By 1909, Joanna Moore³ convinced the American Baptist missionary society to sponsor Lizzie Woods (as she was now known) for two years education at a Baptist training academy.⁴ After her studies, Lizzie stayed on as a matron teaching at the academy in Dermott, Arkansas, where she also experienced sanctification.

In 1911, Charles Mason came to Dermott, Arkansas to lead a revival, and Lizzie Woods experienced the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. In line with the concerns of the day, she was forced to leave her position at the Baptist academy. Woods then went with Elder R. E. Hart on some evangelistic meetings, where she made a clear distinction between her role as a "teacher" and not as a "preacher," since she did not believe in women preaching. Mason then had Lizzie Woods come to Memphis to continue her "teaching" at his church. In the convocation in Memphis at the end of 1911, Mason named Lizzie Woods, the General Overseer of the Women's Work, in essence the "bishop" of women in COGIC. Her first move was to unite the separate Prayer Bands and Bible Bands into "Prayer and Bible Bands." Lizzie then set out to find women to train for the ministry of the church. In her early years in COGIC she would marry her third husband, and thereafter be known as Lizzie Robinson, one of the first mothers of COGIC.6

By 1916, Robinson had appointed state overseers and the first 32 young women "missionaries" were named in the 1916 convocation of the church. One vital role for these young women was the planting of churches. This activity was known as "digging out" a church or "teaching." As Butler (2007a: 51) notes,

> Church mothers' and missionaries' task was to draw in new members and 'dig out' a church for a male to pastor. When the tent meeting or street preaching had produced a number of converts, church mothers like [Lucinda] Bostick sent a letter back to Memphis that a pastor was

needed, often suggesting the name of a man whom they were familiar with.

These women of COGIC had the hard work of street preaching or holding revival meetings; only to turn over newly started congregations to male pastors from headquarters. In addition, these women usually raised their own funds and supported themselves in this work. This practice can be illustrated by examining one interesting case of this practice in the lives of twins, Reatha and Leatha Morris.

Beginnings of The Singing Twins

Reatha and Leatha Morris⁷ were the youngest daughters of Rev. John Henry Morris and his wife Sarah. Born a slave in the region around Memphis, Tennessee, John Henry Morris left the South and took his family to Oklahoma Territory for the land rush for free government land.8 Reatha and Leatha were born on October 11, 1900 in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, near the town of Enid. They were the youngest children out of twelve, six boys and six girls. Rev. Morris was a pastor in the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc.9

According to her own account, Reatha was converted about 1913, two years after her twin sister Leatha. From her account, her conversion sounds more Pentecostal than Baptist, but the major event in their spiritual lives would occur on Saturday, June 26, 1915. One of her elder brothers, Thomas Morris, had come home sick from Kansas City. The family had gathered around him to pray. One older sister had already passed away, but the other children joined their parents, a sister-in-law, Eleanor, a niece, Ella, and a neighbor, Mary Slaten, and gathered around the sick bed. The twins' sister Lula began to pray and soon began praying in tongues. Before long all 16 of the people in the house were praying in tongues and had been baptized with the Holy Spirit. As Reatha recounted to Doris Sims (2014: 52-53),

> They tells me we were hoopin, hollerin, shouting, going on and the whole neighborhood got on fire. They said someone called the fire department 'cause they said, "There's a ball of fire about the size of a washtub right over their house."

> They said they thought the house was on fire. They thought the house was on fire! The fire department came and they said they found out that there was nothing

but the Holy Ghost that had fallen there and the whole house was on fire. It was on Holy Ghost fire.



Believed to be a Photo of Sarah Morris, the Mother of Reatha and Leatha Morris

Rev. John Henry Morris, after this experience, felt pushed out of the Baptist church and founded a church called the Church of God in Christ in Enid, Oklahoma in 1915. Rev. Morris died about 1917, and this church would merge with the Memphis-based Church of God in Christ (COGIC) in 1921 and would then split in 1925 to become the Free Church of God in Christ under Elder J. H. Morris. ¹⁰ The Free Church of God in Christ would have around 874 members in 19 congregations by 1935. ¹¹ About this time, it would merge with the Full Gospel Pentecostal Missionary Association under John Henry's son, Bishop Ernest F. Morris in Seattle, Washington. ¹²

About the time of her father's death in 1917, Reatha recounts receiving a powerful gift of the Spirit to interpret scripture, which would be invaluable for her future work in evangelism. At this time, she started a tent revival with her brother (possibly Ernest) in Wichita, Kansas and joined O.T. Jones, Sr. in a revival in New Water, Oklahoma. In 1919, Reatha and Leatha Morris would travel to Memphis, Tennessee for the first convocation of the fledgling denomination. Here they would meet founding Bishop Charles H. Mason and Mother Lizzie Robinson, who would give the twins a letter of recommendation to help build COGIC churches. Reatha and Leatha Morris would then become known as "the Twins" in their evangelistic work for COGIC, while most of their brothers remained connected with their father's church. Reatha would recall Bishop Mason praying over her with his hands on her head, and she added, "If I had been a man it would've be said that he ordained me."

The earliest women evangelists in COGIC were licensed in 1917 and included 26 names of women, many of whom would go on to serve higher positions within COGIC. It is interesting that this list also includes a set of twins, Mary and Martha Renfro, who also formed an evangelistic team known as "the Twins."¹⁷

MISSES REATHA AND LEATHA MORRIS Headquarters: 1306 Wabash St. Wichita, Kansas



We have traveled over a large part of the United States telling the story of Jesus and "the old rugged cross." We are playing on our instruments and singing the songs of the Highest, "Good will toward all men;" and praying for the sick that they might be healed according to James 5: 14 and laying on hands, Mark 16:17.

We were converted in early life, when but small children, and a few years later received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, Acts 2:4; and then we were annointed for this great work eleven years ago.

An early publicity piece for the ministry of Reatha and Leatha Morris

The Singing Twins

According to Reatha's personal account, around 1918, she and Leatha joined one of their brothers (most likely Ernest) in a revival in Wichita. Reatha (Sims 2014:67) noted,

> The last thing we did in getting this church going was, we put up a tent. My brother put up a big tent, right there in Wichita, Kansas. When we put up this tent that was the first time in my life I'd ever seen anything like

> I don't know how he learned to do it, but he did. He was way yonder older than us. In that tent many people got saved and was blessed of God. At that time, we were about 18 years old when we put that tent up but many people were saved and blessed in that tent. Now, in that tent was where I brought my first message.

By April 23, 1922, Reatha and Leatha Morris were concluding another revival meeting in Wichita, Kansas.¹⁸ An announcement in the Wichita Daily Eagle of November 17, 1922 records, "The Twin Sisters, Reatha and Leatha Morris, evangelists, with the assistance of Rev. E. F. Morris, Pueblo, will conduct a revival meeting for 10 days at the Holiness church 151 North Mosley Avenue, beginning tonight. On Sundays, the meetings will occupy the entire day."19 By this time, Reatha and Leatha were working with COGIC, but apparently still did revival work with their brother in their hometown of Wichita as well. Reatha recounted to Sims (2014:73) that she and her sister did not work often with her brothers in their separate church, but chose to work with COGIC because they had more outreach and places they could go to do ministry.

By 1923, Reatha and Leatha were assisting Elder Thompson with a revival in South Minneapolis. A report From August 14, 1926 indicates that the twins were heading back to Buffalo from Pittsburgh with their brother, who is, "a great healer."20 But for the most part very few accounts of their travels and evangelistic activity can be found. Their work was not simply evangelistic in nature, although that was clearly where the twins gifting was the strongest. Reatha explained their early work this way,

> We helped to preach out these churches. When we first started, we didn't go among these churches expecting to give no message- that wasn't it.

> The people would call it preaching- we were not that. What we did was work around the altar. We'd get

people around the altar- 15 or 20- sometime on a long bench, called a Mourner's Bench.

We'd put them people on that Mourner's Bench and then we'd get over those people, casting out devils, praying for them and blessing them. Every once in a while, somebody would jump up and just shout for joy that had got completely delivered. We would let them help us pray for the others. That's how we got started. Sometimes in the meeting there would be 15 or 20 people who would get saved. Most of them would be filled with the Holy Ghost. (Sims 2014: 88-90)

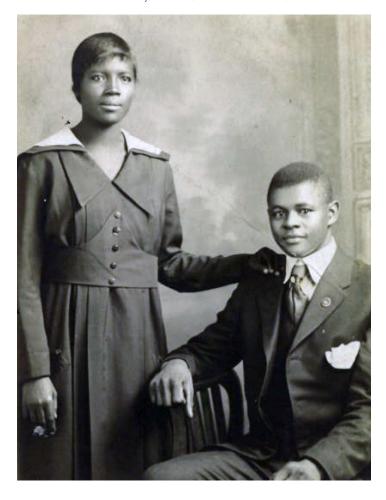


Photo of Reatha Morris with an Unidentified Man (possibly one of her **Brothers**) circa 1920

With Reatha playing the guitar and Leatha with a tambourine or her mandolin, the twins would walk along the street, sometimes with red bandanas around their necks and gather a crowd. They would move this crowd into a tent, often set up in front of a small storefront that had been rented. After gathering a large enough group of believers as a result of their evangelistic preaching, they would contact COGIC headquarters and a male pastor would be sent out to take over and develop the church. Reatha recalled planting churches in San Francisco, St. Paul, Buffalo, New York City, St. Louis, and other places from Miami to Seattle and Los Angeles to Washington D.C. In total, Reatha and Leatha are credited with planting 75 COGIC churches around the United States.

In one of her most successful revivals, which Reatha conducted by herself, she set up a tent in Chicago and held a tent revival for 30 days.²¹ Over 300 people were saved and as the weather was getting colder, she moved the revival into an old Jewish synagogue that had been purchased in town. Various male leaders in Chicago reported Reatha to the bishop for pastoring a church. Reatha's response to Bishop Roberts was, "I don't call it a church. I call it the evangelistic meeting and I'm still carrying on a meeting, and souls are being saved. People getting saved, all kinds of people." The Bishop, due to others demanding he stop the meeting, took the matter to the COGIC headquarters in Memphis, but they did not act on the matter. According to Reatha's account, "Bishop Roberts told me to go on with the work. He said he was over the work his own self and if anybody caused any kind of confusion, to send them to him. That was one of the greatest accomplishments I ever had in my ministry."

Reatha (Sims 2014: 112-113) also recalled when she and Leatha were called by the founder, Bishop Mason, to hold a revival in his church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He called for them specifically and when people accused her of preaching, Reatha responded, "We are doing what the mule did. God touched the mule and had him to speak in a human voice to the prophet. God used the mule to bring the prophet to repentance. God is using me and my sister to bring sinners back to God, and you can call it what you want to call it."



Reatha and Leatha Morris circa late 1920's

Church Planting Methodology

While we are used to thinking of church planting as a modern topic, it is clearly something that has been going on throughout the life of the Church. Looking at the work of COGIC in the early twentieth century, we can actually see a lot of models that are currently in vogue. For Reatha and Leatha Morris, as well as Mother Lizzie Robinson, church planting was clearly missional. COGIC developed what is now popularly referred to as a church-planting network, sharing resources under a denominational structure. Current works, like Ed Stetzer and Warren Bird's Viral Churches: Helping Church Planters Become Movement Makers (2010) could be used to describe the work of the early women church planters of COGIC.

In fact, the work of COGIC clearly fits the model Stetzer defines as "The Apostolic Harvest Church Planter," with some modifications.²² Stetzer defines this model, writing,

> The apostolic harvest church planter is the most familiar model in the New Testament. Paul would go to an established urban center, teach and preach at the marketplace and/or synagogue, engage the intellectuals and elite, start worship, appoint elders-pastors, and then supervise the new elder/pastor via letter and occasional visits... (T)he apostolic harvest church planter goes to an area, plants a church, calls out and trains a new planter,... and then leaves to plant another church (possibly with some core members from the previous church plant). (Stetzer 2006:54)

Stetzer goes on to point out that this model was used by Paul and Barnabas and early Circuit Riders in Church history.

Clearly Reatha and Leatha Morris and the other early women church planters of COGIC had to modify this model a bit. In a denomination that did not allow them to be pastors, they did not have the authority to appoint or supervise elders in the local churches, or train a new planter, although there are some indications that the women may have been able to suggest certain men be appointed to the churches they planted. In addition, given the African-American context, and especially the audience that Pentecostals typically appealed to, most likely the women of COGIC did not engage the "intellectuals and elite," but rather the working class, urban populations of African-Americans in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly those that were a part of the Great Migration of African-Americans out of the South.²³ Likewise, these women church planters did not maintain

contact with their church plants in terms of letters, although possibly some contact continued through occasional revivals held on return visits.

Whether intentional or not, the early success of COGIC church planting efforts can be linked to the separation of the evangelist from the church leader, as well as a good system for tying the work of the evangelists to early involvement with the denomination. The women church planters of COGIC were essentially evangelists who were freed up to focus solely on evangelism and winning people to Christ. Once they had formed the core of a new church, since they were not permitted to be recognized pastors, a male pastor was called in from the denominational center to take over the work. In this way, the evangelist was then allowed to continue with their own ministry without spending extra time and effort in building or discipling the congregation itself. Mother Lizzie Robinson is to be credited for developing a way for women to be involved in ministry at a time when women were most often excluded.

Mother Reatha Morris Herndon and her sister, Mother Leatha Morris Chapman Tucker are credited for planting around 75 churches during their lifetimes. Such a number would have been impossible if they were required to stay and lead the churches they planted. Such a methodology clearly is supported in scripture, by passages such as 1 Corinthians 12, and Ephesians 4:11-13, "So Christ himself gave the apostles, the prophets, the evangelists, the pastors and teachers, to equip his people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up until we reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ." COGIC following its conservative roots in the rural Baptist tradition did not allow women to lead as pastors, but through the recognition of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Bishop Mason allowed Mother Robinson to carve out an important role for women. COGIC was able to maximize the use of all of their leaders by creating clear roles in which both men and women could be involved in ministry.

While it is regrettable that women such as Mothers Reatha Herndon and Leatha Chapman Tucker were not permitted to exercise their gifts in terms of pastoral ministry simply because they were women in a denominational setting that did not allow for this role, they were permitted to serve as evangelists. They, along with many other women evangelists were commissioned to "dig out" churches, to lay the groundwork for others to continue building the church. I do not think COGIC could have developed as quickly as it did, or to its current size, without developing this type of methodology for church planting.

Such an historical example should cause us to ponder the value in expecting current church planters to both evangelize and lead their own church plants. We may be missing the valuable lessons both St. Paul and the Morris Twins gave us. By considering the giftedness of people involved in church planting, the church might be more successful to develop a team-based approach, where evangelists prepare a core congregation and then call in people more gifted as pastors to lead and teachers to disciple. This may call for some type of ecclesiastical structure similar to traditional denominations (or more modern church planting networks) to allow for such an organized team to function well, but it builds on the giftedness of people in the church, instead of expecting a single church planter to perform all of the functions of an evangelist, pastor, and teacher, when they may not be gifted in all of these areas. As Stetzer (2006: 60-61) comments on the Apostolic Harvester Model,

> The apostolic planter can be most effective when not pastoring a local church (although the planter might be on staff at a local church). Instead, the apostolic harvest planter's main focus is on reproducing congregations. This is seen today when church planters work as denominational church-starter strategists or catalytic church planters, bivocational or lay church starters, or itinerant apostolic church planters.



Reatha Morris, a "teaching" evangelist for COGIC

Conclusion

Both Reatha and Leatha Morris would have unfortunate marriages, even in the context of their successful ministries. They married just one month apart. Leatha married Columbus Chapman, a preacher and healer in 1927. They built a large COGIC church in Detroit, but the couple separated in 1936 over Chapman's involvement with other women. Leatha did not have any children, but remarried in 1965 to Jaddie T. Tucker in Los Angeles. Reatha married a pastor, Thomas Commodore Herndon in 1927, and the couple had a daughter, Reatha Lee Herndon, in 1928 while Herndon was a pastor in Chicago Heights. The family moved to Los Angeles in 1929 to continue evangelistic work, and a son, Robert Morris Herndon, was born in 1930. The couple separated due to Herndon's increased problems with alcohol. In 1933, Reatha's 3year-old son died of meningitis while she was away conducting a revival with Leatha. Thomas Herndon passed away in 1935 from a cerebral hemorrhage.

Mother Leatha Morris Chapman Tucker would end up as a leader and organizer of the Department of Women in COGIC until her death on December 10, 1976. Mother Dr. Reatha D. Morris Herndon would be appointed President of the National Women's Evangelist Board in COGIC in 1951 and become the Elect Lady of the Department of Evangelism. Her only daughter would die from breast cancer about 1973. In January 2001 after serving fifty years, Mother Reatha Herndon was made the Emeritus Elect Lady of the Department of Evangelism. She would pass on March 31, 2005 at the age of 104 years of age.²⁴ Truly she was one of the great evangelists of COGIC's history.

It is fascinating that in a denomination such as COGIC, which does not permit the ordination of women, that women still played a major strategic role in the planting of churches. Women were clearly enabled to do evangelism and to preach in revivals, however, once a large enough group was formed, a male counterpart was called in to lead the new church plant. Following Mother Lizzie Robinson's lead, a careful distinction was made between "teaching" and "preaching" which empowered women like Reatha and Leatha Morris to enter acceptable forms of ministry. Much of the present-day success of COGIC was really built by these women, and others like them, who worked at "digging out" new churches.

While such an approach clearly hindered women from pastoring, it did free up women with gifts of evangelism to plant churches without remaining to develop those churches more fully. This division of labor was

clearly a successful method of ministry for COGIC and should raise critical questions for how we approach church planting in our modern context, especially how we might utilize all members of the church regardless of how they might be marginalized in terms of leadership.

End Notes

- ¹ This article is dedicated to my dear friend, Sister Patricia Jenkins, who was a fellow student with me at Asbury Theological Seminary and a faithful member of COGIC. She had served as a missionary to Liberia and introduced me to the history and tradition of the strong women leaders of COGIC, even when women were unable to be ordained pastors. She, for one, followed in their footsteps.
- ² For a more detailed analysis of the growth and development of COGIC, cf. Bishop Ithiel C. Clemmons work, Bishop C.H. Mason and the Roots of the Church of God in Christ (1996), Pneuma Life Publishing (Bakersfield, CA).
- ³ Moore would also become friends with and encourage Charles Jones in his own experience of sanctification. Cf. Anthea D. Butler, Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World (2007a) page 27. But it is also essentially important that we take the beliefs of African-American women seriously as well, and not just make it an extension of white mission influence. Of special value here is the work of Anthea D. Butler, especially a chapter she wrote entitled "Unrespectable Saints: Women of the Church of God in Christ" from The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past edited by Catherine A. Brekus (2007b) (Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press).
- ⁴ Church (1996) Notes that other women have played an important training role in the history of COGIC, especially Dr. Arenia Mallory, president of Saints Academy and founder of Saints Junior College. Cf. Gilkes (1985), Goodson (2017), and Bragg (2018) for more about the role of women in the COGIC tradition.
- ⁵ For more on Mother Lizzie Robinson's distinctions between "teaching" and "preaching" as well as more information on the role of women in early Pentecostalism in general, cf. Lisa P. Stephenson's article, "Prophesying Women and Ruling Men: Women's Religious Authority in North American Pentecostalism" in *Religions* 2 (2011): 410-426. DOI: 10.3390/rel2030410.
- ⁶ To read more about Mother Lizzie Robinson and her life, cf. Anthea D. Butler, Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World (2007a), (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press).
- ⁷ The spelling of these names varies throughout the records, so I will consistently use the spellings used later in life. Reatha, for examples

appears as: Retha, Rether, and even Wreatha in various records and Leatha appears as Lither in at least one record. The 1900 census lists them as Cora and Dora, which are possibly middle names.

- ⁸ Census records indicate that Sarah Morris was born in Mississippi, and while John Henry Morris lists his birth as being in Tennessee, he lists his father as being from Missouri and his mother from South Carolina. In the 1900 census, John Henry Morris is listed as 51 years old and Sarah Morris as 48 at the time of the birth of the twins.
- ⁹ The 1900 census lists ten children: Eugene (21 years old), John (19 years old), Tennie (17 years old), Lizzie (15 years old), Thomas (13 years old), Lulu (11 years old), and Ernest (9 years old) are all listed as being born in Tennessee. Clarence (4 years old) and the twins, then called Cora and Dora (1 year old) being born in Oklahoma. This puts the move from Tennessee at around 1891-1896. The 1900 census lists John Henry Morris as a farmer, but the 1910 census lists him as a preacher.
- ¹⁰ Most likely this was another son of Rev. Morris, but I have found no information verifying this. He did have a son named John according to the 1900 census and Sims (2014).
- ¹¹ Most of these congregations were in Kansas and Colorado. These statistics come from the Association of Religion Data Archives, retrieved online at" http://www.thearda.com/Denoms/D 1002.asp on January 16, 2020.
- ¹² Bishop Morris had moved to Colorado in 1919 and married Olive B. Morris in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1924 before moving to Seattle in 1928 and founding God's Pentecostal Temple in Seattle. He would be president of the Full Gospel Pentecostal Missionary Association from 1934-1968. More can be found on the history page of God's Pentecostal Temple at: http://godspentecostaltemple.org/History.htm retrieved on January 16, 2020.
- ¹³ Ozro Thurston Jones, Sr. (March 26, 1891-Sept. 23, 1972) was the second senior bishop of COGIC from 1962-1968, who had an evangelistic outreach in North Arkansas and the surrounding areas at this time.
 - ¹⁴ Cf. Sims 2014: 71-72.
- 15 In the 1920 census, Reatha and Leatha are living in Wichita, Kansas with their mother and brother Clarence, who at that time was a janitor in an ice cream parlor. Reatha and Leatha are both listed in that census as "Holiness Evangelists."
 - ¹⁶ Sims 2014: 88.
- ¹⁷ Cf. This is The Church of Christ by Bobby Bean (2001), Atlanta, GA: Underground Epics Publishing, pp. 133-134.

- ¹⁸ Wichita Daily Eagle, Wichita, Kansas, Sunday, April 23, 1922, page 8.
- 19 Wichita Daily Eagle, Wichita, Kansas, Friday, November 17, 1922, page 2.
- ²⁰ Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Saturday, August 14, 1926, page 11.
 - ²¹ Reported in Sims 2014: 108-111.
- ²² Cf. Ed Stetzer, *Planting Missional Churches* (Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing Group) 2006: 53-61.
- ²³ For more on the role of COGIC in ministry during the Great Migration cf. Anthea Butler's chapter in Schweiger and Matthews (2004) Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press).
- ²⁴ Mother Reatha Herndon remained active in church work despite blindness and old age.

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